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Unions and Featherbedding

by Sidney Lens

Protestant Positions on A Catholic in the White House

by Arthur Moore

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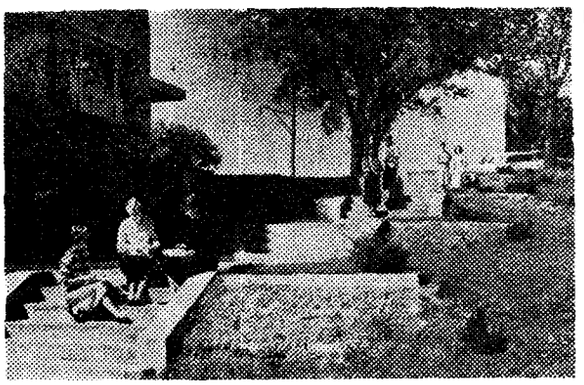

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THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

AN HISTORIC SESSION

FOR MOST Americans the disturbing thing is that Khrushchev, Kadar and other Soviet-zone leaders have now come to this country without our invitation. It is proving to be most difficult to think of their coming to the international enclave of the United Nations rather than to America. Much of the organized agitation against the presence of these symbols of oppression stems from nationalities that have been ruthlessly subjugated, but the general American public tends to share the hostile sentiments of the demonstrators. Mr. Eisenhower's plea for calm and dignity reflects concern over a prevalent state of mind. A similar type of hostility extends among varying groups, and to various degrees, to the presence of Fidel Castro, Marshal Tito and Abdel Nasser as well.

Washington has been emphatic enough in underlining the destination of the Communist leaders' visit by confining them to Manhattan Island, avowedly for their own personal security's sake—a restriction also applied to Fidel Castro. Yet somehow there is a widespread feeling that these adversaries of ours have no right to be here contrary to our wishes. It will take time for most of us to realize what duties the United States assumed when it offered to serve as headquarters for a worldwide organization such as the U.N.

The nationwide attention which will be focussed on the U.N. enclave in New York in the next few weeks should make the American people better informed on the workings of the United Nations. The proposed agenda for the fifteenth session of the General Assembly is the most extensive yet. It includes such subjects of intense if recurring controversy as Hungary, Tibet and Algeria; it compasses a number of key questions, among them disarmament and inernational covenants on human rights. Both President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev are scheduled to address the Assembly in person.

Not the least urgent of the disputed issues is the question of the Congo, which changes its dimensions from day to day. Here, in preliminary emergency session, the U.N. Assembly gave a rousing seventy to nothing vote backing Secretary-General Hammarskjold's policy. All the Afro-Asian members supported the resolution, with only the Russian bloc, France and South Africa abstaining.

AFTER WORLD WAR I and World War II the sentiment of the peoples of the world was so strongly in favor of preventing a recurrence of any similar holocaust that they were eager to establish an international organization to preserve the peace. For a time the League of Nations did enjoy a measure of success in performing this function, but it could not cope with the totalitarians of Europe or Japan. For its part, the United Nations has fulfilled this aspect of its purpose well. Today it may possibly be ready to move on to new heights of effectiveness.

What is the chief threat to peace in the world as we Americans see it? Is it not the Chinese-Soviet power complex with its avowed aim of subjugating the world? It was in Korea, with the help of the U.N. itself, that the free world manifested its determination to resist this march toward world domination. The invasion of South Korea by North Koreans and Communist Chinese was repelled by an international force which conducted a war of a traditional type with "conventional" weapons. And there may be subsequent occasions where wars started by satellites may have to be brought under control in the interests of justice and peace by further U.N. contingents.

But the problem of keeping the peace is hardly limited to the question of "brush-fire" wars, im-

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portant as it is to keep up the ability to deal with them. In the past eight years the Soviet Union and Communist China (even more sharply) have grown much faster in industrial might than the Western, pro-Western and neutralist nations. They are not only much more powerful than before, but are having considerable success in presenting their state-directed methods of industrialization and collectivization as the best means of advancing from a primitive to a well-developed economy. The emergence of so many new nations from a colonial status, a number of them without due preparation, now provides the Communist powers with a whole new series of opportunities for extending their influence. Finally, the advances in destructiveness and deliverability of the thermonuclear weapons possessed by both camps makes all-out war unthinkable from the viewpoint of either side.

If all this means a continuation and intensification of the Cold War, it also means that much of the campaign will now be carried out at the United Nations. It will be a complex sort of operation. Often the conflict will be direct, as in the face-to-face debates over controversial issues. Much of the time the effort will be indirect, through those various U.N. agencies which are doing so much to improve health, education, productivity and living conditions throughout the world and thus establish centers of stability and strength in place of destitution, apathy and potential regimentation or chaos.

Certain former avenues of national defense would appear to be closed to us because of the very destructiveness of thermonuclear weapons and the inroads of anti-American propaganda. National defense now implies vigorous action at the United Nations, both in personal contacts and formal debate. It also calls for leadership in the less political special committees where accomplishments are more tangible and conducive to the building up of wholly independent local centers of strength, a perennially worthwhile objective regardless of immediate or ultimate Sino-Russian intentions.

FUTURE IMPERATIVES

IT IS, WE suppose, almost inevitable for national attention to be focused most of the time on immediate problems. The officeholder, from President on down, naturally tends to become immersed in day-to-day problems. The job of the Presidency in particular, as it is now organized, is simply too much for any one man to do it justice. Whoever the incumbent is, he cannot help slighting this or that aspect of his duties.

Ideally, the Presidential campaign should afford a good opportunity for a long, hard look at long-range national policy. In practice, though, it seldom does, because in the heat of the campaign problems tend to be oversimplified and issues become all too black-and-white. A campaign like this one, certainly, where "the religious issue" threatens to obscure the serious problems we face is unlikely to provide sober analysis of the national condition. Yet at few times in our national history has such analysis been more needful.

These reflections are prompted by the recent publication of the sixth in a series of reports by the Special Studies Project of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This report is concerned with U.S. policy in the cold war and centers on one major question: "whether American democracy can act with the force, resolution and imagination necessary to meet the problems it faces. . . ." In the process it raises questions on matters of public policy to which the American people have in recent years become quite accustomed—much too accustomed, the report suggests.

On government loyalty programs, for example, the report stresses the difficulty of protecting national security against the international Communist apparatus. "Toughness and realism are required to deal with this conspiracy," it says. "If fundamental democratic values are to be preserved, however, restraint is also necessary. The excesses of various loyalty programs illustrate this aspect of the problem. When government clearances require the individual to prove his loyalty, a basic democratic postulate is ignored."

The report, called "The Power of the Democratic Idea," raises serious questions about present national policies in placing severe restrictions on public access to information on military and foreign affairs. Noting that some restriction is probably necessary, particularly on military questions, the report nonetheless points out that a policy of restriction at best delays the acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge by other governments. "There appear to be no basic scientific secrets anywhere in the world." Yet a policy of restriction "undermines the trust that ordinary citizens repose in public discussion, leaving them with a feeling that they cannot perform their roles as democratic citizens, and should not bother to try, because they cannot obtain the reliable information essential to responsible judgment and action."

Loyalty programs and restrictions on access to

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information on military and foreign affairs both relate, of course, to the underlying problem of a world in crisis. "Democracies are not warlike," says the report. "Large military budgets, recurrent alarms and excursions, a state of prolonged international tension are all foreign to the normal climate of freedom." Since the practices required by the maintenance of a constant state of military readiness are strange to the U.S., "it is natural that they should be employed reluctantly, and that the belief should persist that a democracy cannot do more than respond to the initiatives taken by its enemies."

The writers of this latest of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund reports would undoubtedly be the first to disclaim any notion that they have come up with definite answers to the many questions discussed. Yet the important point is that in it crucial questions of policy are not taken for granted but are subjected to critical reexamination. Once this political campaign is over, the continuation and broadening of this process of critical reexamination at the highest levels of government is essential.

CATHOLIC OPPOSITION TO BIGOTRY

THE STRONG AND continuing attacks on Senator John Kennedy because of his Catholicism confirm what few informed Americans doubted—that anti-Catholic prejudice remains, unfortunately, a real factor in our national life. Some of this anti-Catholicism comes from vicious hate groups that direct their virulence equally against Negroes and Jews. But most of it derives from religious groups who, perpetuating historical hostilities, have protected themselves from knowledge about the Catholic Church and sincerely hold incorrect views about Catholicism. And some anti-Catholicism probably derives from those who exaggerate the importance of certain Catholic groups that have, on occasion, acted irresponsibly.

All Americans who rightfully deplore the vicious and parochial bigotry of anti-Catholicism must strive to overcome it. But since Catholics are the actual target, they must be most concerned to correct the abuses. To the first group, the hate-mongers, there is probably little to say. If they are not beneath contempt, they are beneath serious discussion. To the third group, it would be fair to acknowledge that individual Catholics and Catholic groups have, on occasion, acted imprudently but to point out that these people do not speak for the Church and certainly not for Senator Kennedy.

But it is the second group of this loose classification that deserves most attention, for their prejudice stems primarily from a lack of information about the Church and about the relation of religion and society. But just as it does no one a service to answer hate with hate, or bigotry with bigotry, so it is no help to answer ignorance with equal ignorance. Catholics who wish to counter the anti-Catholic prejudice that is so prevalent today must be prepared to engage in demanding, exasperating and often discouraging exchanges. They must be prepared to encounter extravagantly wrong opinions about the Church that resist reason and fact. They must expect to find unenlightened opinion in high places, religious illiteracy where it is least expected. They must be prepared to recognize that though a person is strongly prejudiced he is not necessarily a fool or a knave. And they must be prepared to admit that the anti-Catholicism they encounter very frequently has some basis in fact, though the fact has little or no relevance to the present political campaign.

The example set by Senator Kennedy when he addressed a large group of Protestant ministers in Texas might well serve as an example of how questions should be answered by other Catholics. The Senator answered all the questions directed to him with simplicity and honesty. He was as forthright as it is possible to be. Nevertheless, twenty-four hours after he spoke a West Texas Baptist organization adopted a resolution saying that Senator Kennedy "is either denying the teaching of his church or is seeking to delude the American people." People who are so entrenched in their prejudices are not, apparently, able to assimilate readily what runs counter to it. Nevertheless they deserve to have their questions answered, if only that they be given the opportunity to recognize their own prejudice.

There are, further, groups such as the "Citizens for Religious Freedom," the group which Dr. Norman Vincent Peale first supported and then disowned, that inject their religious prejudices into the political scene. As Dr. Peale belatedly acknowledged, the group seemed to urge a religious test for a political candidate, a course opposed to the Constitution and to the best in the American tradition. This last point cannot, apparently, be overstressed. For after Dr. Peale finally explained his own position, one member of his congregation could still state: "A Catholic ought to have the right to say, 'We want a good Catholic for this job.' So I insist on the right of a Protestant so say that there is something in our Protestant background

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and ethic that makes a Protestant better equipped to be President of the United States." Clearly this church member has not learned that a religious test is a religious test, whether it is applied by a Protestant or a Catholic.

But those who would impose religious tests upon political candidates have their counterparts in those who would impose political tests upon religion. One minister who recently attacked the "Peale statement," as it has been termed, and who came to the defense of Senator Kennedy did so, we believe, on faulty grounds. For he contended that the average citizen was "more loyal to the American way of life than to the particular denomination to which he belongs." This statement mistakenly suggests that a citizen has not dual but divided loyalties and that what should be an ultimate religious commitment is transcended by national loyalty.

This confusion of thought, unfortunately, is widespread. Even Vice-President Nixon slipped in his discussion of religion and politics. Discussing Mr. Kennedy's religion he said, according to the N.Y. *Times,* that there "was no religious issue so far as Senator Kennedy is concerned" and that he had no doubt that Senator Kennedy would put the Constitution above his faith. This, of course, just as much as the ministers' statement, misses the whole point of what we call our "American way of life." The Constitution has not become the basis for a new religion; neither does it attempt to put itself above any religion. It allows, rather, that a man can adhere to the religion to which his conscience leads him and that he can practice that religion without political liability or penalty. The citizen is not half American and half Catholic—or Protestant, Jew or agnostic. He can be completely both.

It is clear that there are grave issues here that can be readily misconstrued or misstated. The Catholic who wishes to dissipate some of the prejudice of this campaign has a grave responsibility not to provoke and nurture it by ill-advised or ill-informed statements. More than ever in this campaign we need calm, informed reason.

PLANS AND OBSTACLES

THE AGREEMENT reached at Bogota, Colombia, by the delegates of nineteen American States has a number of notable features. The half-billion-dollar loan fund for development in Latin America is to be accompanied by an increase over present United States aid for industrial projects. The Latin American nations themselves pledge important internal fiscal and monetary reforms. Most outstanding is the fact that for the first time the principal agency (the new Inter-American Development Bank) will be primarily under Latin-American rather than U.S. influence and control.

It is not clear how much opposition will be encountered in the various countries to the agrarian and tax reform essential for the full-fledged success of the Bogota program. Msgr. Joaquin Salcedo of Colombia, who has utilized the radio to teach 150,000 of his compatriots to read and write, recently expressed deep concern over the attitude of his country's wealthier classes: "What Latin America needs first of all is not aid but a revolution of its structures. I hope it can be a peaceful one led by the educated classes. . . ." Another of his points is the problem of apathy among the rural population: "We must convince our people that improvement is in their hands, create in them the intellectual need to live better. It's no use just building housing projects. You must teach them to demand light, cleanliness, privacy. Once you've done that, you hardly need anything—a few building materials, a little technical supervision." Finally, on the influence of the United States: "You Americans can expound water skis or escalators or Pepsi Cola, but you don't know how to talk about freedom to live and speak."

TAKING MOSCOW BY STORM

MID-SEPTEMBER will be remembered by many as the time when London took Moscow by storm. George London, the American bass-baritone, has received many honors in many countries, but the acclamation he received recently in Moscow was close to the summit. Singing the title role in "Boris Godunov" in Moscow's famed Bolshoi Theater, he received stormy applause for many minutes. What the singer later termed "the climax of a life's dream" has become, for Americans, one more cultural triumph among the Russians. We are not prepared to draw morals. We simply record the fact, extend to Mr. London our hearty congratulations, and look forward to having him back.

The last "Here and There" column by John Cogley appeared in the September 2 issue. Mr. Cogley is serving as special assistant to Senator John F. Kennedy during the Presidential campaign. He will resume his column after the November elections.

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Unions and Featherbedding

How many of our workers hold on to artificial jobs and is there any solution to the problem?

by SIDNEY LENS

FEATHERBEDDING, spotlighted in hundreds of railroad advertisements last year, is moving upstage once again. Beginning this month (September), the five operating unions in the industry will be discussing "work rule" revisions with their counterparts in management. The public, harassed and bewildered by claim and counter-claim, will be asking itself once again: Is there anything to this featherbedding charge? Are the allegations exaggerated? Should the surplus workers—if there are any—be unceremoniously tossed onto the unemployment heap? Is there any answer to the problem?

All labor-management relations are surcharged with emotion. But nothing raises blood pressures so much as featherbedding.

A few months ago, when Jimmy Hoffa appeared on a prominent T.V. show in Chicago, he was taken to task by a nationally-known philosophy professor for "labor featherbedding." If this evil were eliminated, said the professor, the nation could trim off fifteen to twenty million jobs.

The illogic of this statement is bizarre. Where featherbedding exists there must be a union to protect the featherbedder. The only reason that the so-called excess railroad fireman can't be fired is because the union is there to stop it. Since there are only eighteen million union members in the country, the professor's claim that there are fifteen to twenty million redundant jobs can only mean that every single union man is doing zero amount of work.

On the other side are bland assertions by some union officials that featherbedding is entirely a figment of management's imagination. There are no "made" jobs at all, they say.

The whole issue must be divorced from emotional estimates like these, and put into proper context. What proportion of our workers hold on to artificial jobs purely because of the power of their union? How does this waste of resources compare to waste generally? Is there any solution to the problem—other than the status quo demanded by certain unions, and the unilateral right to discharge demanded by employers?

To begin with, waste is a chronic ailment of our society. Some five billion dollars a year is siphoned off our economy—according to one leading business consultant—in the form of bribes to buyers and other white collar crimes. Our auto and appliance industries waste tens of billions in "planned obsolescence"—producing items that "don't last too long." Millions of tons of steel go down the drain in useless do-dads, tail-fins and other knick-knacks that have no utilitarian value. Each year eleven billion dollars is wasted in the form of advertising and public relations. This industry may have usefulness here and there, but most of it serves no social purpose. What difference is it to the nation, after all, if one smokes Luckies or Camels?

Nor is this all. Our society reeks with the waste of unused capacity. The steel industry, to cite one example, is capable of producing 140 to 150 million tons of steel a year but is currently operating at only fifty-five per cent of capacity. Added to this is the waste of cutthroat competition, fraudulent financing, do-nothing corporate directors, excess government bureaucrats. Wherever one turns there is waste, and featherbedding is merely one feature of it.

HOW MUCH featherbedding is there nationally? I don't know exactly, and neither does anyone else. But if the claims of the railroad industry are any barometer they can't be too large. Once one pries into the realities of these claims it becomes obvious that the number is greatly exaggerated. Reading the lurid tales in *Reader's Digest* or the carriers' advertisements one gets the impression that productivity in this industry has stood still, that the railroads have

Mr. Lens is a long-time trade-unionist who writes frequently on social and economic questions.

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been prevented by the unions from dropping unproductive workers. The facts, however, show just the opposite. The number of railroad employees today is less than half what it was four decades ago. From 1956 to 1959 alone the carriers reduced their work force from 1,042,000 to 810,000—a cut of almost one-quarter in this short period.

Searching a little further, one learns that the productivity of railroad workers has gone up twice as fast as that of factory employees. From 1939 to 1953 factory productivity went up by 28 per cent; in the railroads it zoomed by double that figure, 58.6 per cent. In the decade from 1947 to 1957 the yield per man-hour of labor in manufacturing went up 28.6 per cent; railroad efficiency rose by 46.4 per cent.

This hardly indicates that the railroad industry has been at the mercy of unions protecting redundant jobs.

The charges of featherbedding actually involve only ten to twenty per cent of the industry. Most of it revolves around the "un-needed" fireman on diesel engines and the "dual-basis" of pay for engineers. Neither of these charges quite measures up to the propaganda.

A freight train engineer is paid not by the hours he works but by the miles he drives—100 miles equals a basic day's pay. A passenger engineer gets his basic day's pay for 150 miles. Since the running time for these distances may be only three to five hours, the railroads argue that the rest is "featherbedding." They cite one case after another where an engineer earns one and a half or two days' pay for working an eight-hour shift.

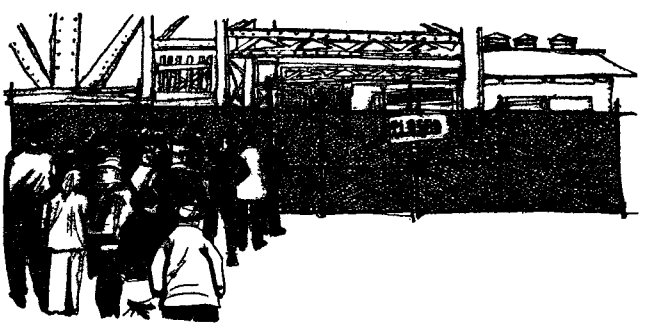
Such figures are entirely misleading. It is true that of the sixty thousand engineers there are a few hundred who have choice runs. An engineer with twenty-five or thirty-five years of seniority who gets a run such as the one from New York to Washington may earn $5 to $6 an hour for his labors—$40 or $45 a day. But the point to remember is that there are few such men to begin with. Secondly, the basic day's pay for the engineer is deliberately kept low. A skilled bricklayer today earns $30 to $35 a day; the engineer only $22. Even if the engineer receives one and a half times or two times his basic day's pay he is hardly overpaid compared to other craftsmen.

A third point to consider is that the amount of time spent in driving his locomotive is only part of the engineer's work-day. It takes almost an hour to prepare his cab before he takes it out and a similar time tying it up when he arrives at his destination. The five, ten or fifteen hours he spends each trip on layover—away from home—is not counted as time worked. But during that period he is separated from his family, and must pay for his own meals and lodging. The engineer, unlike the industrial worker, receives no shift differential for working night hours, no premium time (time and a half or double) for working holidays, and only straight time for most overtime hours. His conditions are far from the bonanza pictured by the advertisements.

The mileage basis of pay was put into effect forty years ago—not by the unions but by the employers. It was an incentive basis of pay to speed up the work. Under this plan the engineer put in many hours of overtime at no pay because 100 and 150 miles was difficult to make in eight hours at that time. Through the years the engineer has taken substandard wage increases (this year it was only two per cent) to compensate for the increase in train speeds, and for his poor work conditions. If the railroads were forced to pay holiday pay, shift differentials, premium pay, and a more realistic basic day's wage, the engineer would probably be as well or better off than with his "dual-basis" of pay. His earnings are certainly not too far out of line with that of craftsmen who have less responsibilities.

THE CASE against the "featherbedding" fireman seems more plausible: the fireman obviously does not shovel wood or coal in a diesel engine. But again many facts are left out. The basic crew of a train today is just what it was forty years ago—five men. But the number of cars to a train is double what it was. In the past a hundred-car freight train had two to four steam engines attached to it and two to four engine crews—ten to twenty men. Now a train of two hundred cars has any number of diesel units pulling it but only *one* crew—five men. The number of engineers and firemen per unit of transportation has gone down drastically.

The railroads claim that the fireman has few duties. The unions, on the other hand, insist that he must check many mechanical items and that he plays a special role in safety. He watches the track from one side while the engineer watches from the other. Hardly a week goes by without some sensational "save" by a fireman of life and property. Theoretically there is a deadman's control under the engineer's foot so that if he gets sick or drops dead the train stops. In practice this doesn't always work. A fireman on Great Northern's westbound streamliner stopped a train when the engineer had a heart attack. In La Crosse, Wisconsin, a fireman rushed from his cab to prevent fifty



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children from running onto the path of the train. If the fireman were eliminated such safety duties would have to be turned over to someone else, presumably the brakeman. But there is no guarantee that they could be adequately taken care of. Twenty-three states carry special legislation insisting on a second man in the cab precisely for this safety factor!

Looking at the situation over-all—even allowing for the worst—the featherbedding charged by the carriers involves only 100,000 of the 800,000 railroad employees. And the five hundred million dollars in annual "losses" must be trimmed many times to get an accurate figure. The railroads may not be America's richest industry, but featherbedding or no, it is far from the poorest. Net profits are 6 to 7 per cent of gross revenues—about the same as steel, and considerably higher than manufacturing generally. In 1958 when the railroads were earning 6.3 per cent on every dollar of sales, airlines earned only 2.7 per cent, traction and bus companies 1 per cent and auto and truck manufacturers 4.2 per cent. Total railroad earnings in the 1950's were about twice what they were in the 1920's, even though railroad capital was 15 per cent less.

The picture of an industry plagued by featherbedding, at the mercy of the unions, is thus highly overdrawn.

Yet, as already indicated, the problem must be put in context. There *is* some featherbedding in the railroad industry. There is some featherbedding in industry generally. The most glaring instance is that of standby musicians in theaters and radio stations who are paid for doing little or no work. There are also the many restrictions in the building trades industries: glazier unions which refuse to permit installation of factory-glazed windows; carpenters' unions which ban the use of door-fitting machines or factory-fitted doors; electricians' unions which bar prewired appliances; bricklayers' unions which hold down the number of bricks laid per day.

If such restrictions did not exist there is little doubt that American productivity, which has risen dramatically through the years, might have risen somewhat more. The construction industry claims it could cut costs of a new home or building by ten to twenty per cent. Allowing again for the usual exaggerations, one must concede that *some* savings could be made.

The point one must consider about featherbedding, however, is not whether it exists or doesn't, but why it exists. Is it merely a foible by self-seeking musicians, carpenters, railwaymen? Or is it the residue of a social problem that society refuses to solve?

EXAMINED from this point of view featherbedding is quickly recognized as a rudimentary defense against technological unemployment. If our unions were strong enough to win social legislation for those thrown out of work because of technological progress there would be no featherbedding. But since our legislatures refuse to consider this problem and our unions are either unwilling or not strong enough to force legislation, the only defense is . . . featherbedding.

Consider the extreme case, that of the musicians. In 1929 when sound pictures were introduced, there were twenty-two thousand musicians employed in moving picture theaters playing the piano or accompanying vaudeville programs. But with the talkies eighteen thousand of them lost their jobs. The juke boxes and other recording instruments cut further into employment possibilities for the professional musician. What was the piano player or violinist supposed to do? Suppose he was in his late forties or early fifties. Suppose he had done nothing else in his life and was unqualified for any other profession. Was he supposed to give up a seventy-five or hundred dollar a week job and go to work as a dishwasher for ten or twelve dollars a week. Was it his fault that technological change had made his profession redundant? Was he personally responsible in any way? Or did society have some kind of obligation to help him make a successful transition that would protect not only his living standards but his dignity?

Our society has great difficulty delineating where individual responsibility ends and social responsibility begins. We have a double standard. It is all right for the government to subsidize industry, but wrong to subsidize a dispossessed worker. During World War II the government built twenty-six billion dollars worth of plant and equipment for businessmen who refused to invest their own money for temporary expansion. And after the war these same plants were sold to the same businessmen for only a few pennies on the dollar. Our electricity industry has refused to invest the billions needed for research on atomic energy. But now that the government has spent these billions in initial research the industry is not bashful about utilizing free research for its own commercial needs.

Our government subsidizes all kinds of businesses. Magazines and newspapers receive mailing privileges at far below cost—even while they are berating "high government spending." Companies that build housing projects are given land by city and state governments at only a fraction of the cost. Ever since the mid-1930's our entire agricultural industry has been heavily subsidized. Millions of farmers have been paid large sums to hold down production and to protect the small farm that might otherwise be driven out of existence. This program hasn't always worked well, and in recent years it has tended to favor the bigger farmer. But its intent was clear: to keep more farmers employed than the economy could tolerate if the workings

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of the free market were permitted to function unhindered.

Wherever one turns there are subsidies to business to help tide it over an economic shoal. But there is no similar concern for the displaced human being. He receives a small sum in unemployment compensation, for a short period. But that's all. He is expected to reduce his living standard and his status as a human being just because someone has invented a juke box or a more efficient method of coupling trains or a more handy way of installing doors. And, we have grown accustomed to hear, he is supposed to take such downgrading without a murmur.

The apologists for industry point out that in the *long run* technological change results in more, rather than less, jobs. Usually in our history that has been true—though not always. But in the *short run* technological change spells tragedy to countless individuals. The juke box made many jobs for electricians, factory workers and the like. But it did not create jobs for the piano player or saxophone player—certainly not comparable to what they were accustomed to. Such men, unless they could develop other skills in other fields, and were not too old to make a change, had no alternative but to accept a permanently lower status.

No one can deny that juke boxes, phonographs, radio equipment and recording devices are industrial steps forward. Properly utilized they are a social plus. But the problem of the replaced musician is likewise a social issue. Just as the government subsidizes agriculture and industry when they are in the doldrums, so the human factors in our economy, who are being pushed out of skilled employment, are entitled to social consideration.

IT IS society's double standard that has forced the skilled craftsmen to resort to featherbedding. If labor were politically strong it might gain legislation that would protect the musician and the railroad fireman just as it protects the farmer and the airplane industry. But labor in America is not that powerful politically—and Congress has been unconcerned. The only recourse open, therefore, has been to use the economic power of the union to do for the individual what the state has refused to do.

To protect their job status the musicians have imposed a tax on the industry. The monies collected from transcriptions and phonograph companies were put into an Employment Fund to make work for thousands of musicians. Theaters and radio stations were forced to employ musicians they didn't need, on pain of being closed down by a strike or picket line. In the building trades, restrictive work rules were put into effect to save jobs. In the railroad industry the unions have jealously guarded the prerogatives gained in decades of collective bargaining to defend themselves—though not always with marked success—from the impact of technological change.

The answer to featherbedding clearly does not rest in firing the redundant employees. This is a social evil even greater than that of the featherbedding itself, for it plays havoc with human lives and human dignities. The answer does not lie in laws such as the proposed Dirksen Bill (S3548) which would give managemen the exclusive right to create or discontinue jobs without union review. Such a measure would place the entire problem outside the pale of collective bargaining.

The answer lies in taking a social approach to the problem of technological unemployment, in assuming that it is society's responsibility rather than that of the individual alone. The redundant worker about to be replaced by automation must be viewed as a national asset, to be sheltered by society rather than tossed on the industrial dustheap. It is particularly important to adopt this approach now because automation will increasingly enlarge the problem in the years to come.

What society can do for the redundant worker falls into three categories: First, it can allow him unemployment compensation equivalent to his normal union pay, and for as long as he needs to make a transition to another job. Second, it can provide schools and counselling to help retrain him for an equivalent type of work in some other field. Third, where necessary, it can *make* work. For instance, the state could organize dozens of orchestras of its own to absorb displaced musicians. Or it could expand the low-cost housing program to absorb redundant construction employees.

These proposals may sound "radical" to the uninitiated. But so did the ideas of unemployment compensation, work relief and social security twenty-five years ago. Our society at long last has come around to the idea that the state must do for the individual what he can not do for himself. This thesis must now be applied with vigor to the technologically unemployed. Otherwise the social benefits of automation will be frittered away in useless and bitter conflicts between labor and management.

The additional costs of a program for the technologically jobless may run into large sums—in the absolute sense. But if it is spread over all of society it will be much less than what we now contribute for many lesser causes. If we can pay subsidies to save the small farm, and to save certain businesses, we ought to do the same for the technologically unemployed. Their skills and their talents are also worth saving. This, rather than any mechanical measures to "fire" the surplus workers, is the answer to featherbedding.

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Protestant Positions on A Catholic in the White House

by ARTHUR MOORE

FOR ANYONE who had been optimistic enough to believe that the West Virginia primary had killed the "religious issue" in the presidential election, the last few weeks must have been downright macabre. The supposed corpse has been doing a wild tarantella, to the accompanying cacophony of statements and counterstatements all stressing "liberty," "freedom" and, inescapably, "no bigotry."

Even for those more cynical who had expected some resumption of the strife following Senator Kennedy's nomination, the extent and vehemence of this outcry has had a depressing effect and it has been difficult not to give way to a merely emotional response of one sort or another. Such a reaction, while understandable, only adds to the already prevailing emotional tone and hence hinders any calm analysis of the varied Protestant approaches to the "Catholic for President" issue. Perhaps only a fool or a journalist would attempt any such analysis at the present time, since this is rather like analyzing a hurricane while it is taking place. But it does seem that there are strands of response involved that can be separated out.

A useful start might be to examine the official statements of various Protestant denominations on the subject. Most attention so far has been paid to statements by individual Protestants (largely clergymen), but to get any clear idea of how much they reflect the thinking of their respective denominations, we must turn to statements approved by the representative bodies of these groups. It must be stressed that even these statements have only the value of expressing what can be agreed upon and may or may not be heeded by the people they supposedly speak for and to. Still, they do indicate the official position of the group.

The first and largest group is composed of those denominations which have no official position. The reasons for this stand (or lack of one) are varied, ranging from an inability to arrive at a consensus to a rejection of the idea of such a statement. (The Seventh Day Adventists, for example, would reject this kind of statement on principle.) Some groups have flatly refused to pass such a statement, when offered. (Thus, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. refused to oppose the nomination of a Roman Catholic and the General Conference of The Methodist Church refused even to endorse an article in *Look* magazine by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.)

Motives obviously vary. But it is quite important to remember that undoubtedly the largest number of Protestant groups in the country have not taken any position and leave the matter entirely up to the individual member. This includes such churches as the Protestant Episcopal Church, The Methodist Church, and the majority of the Lutheran churches.

The second group are those churches which stress the undesirability of making political decisions on group affiliation even while pointing out the necessity to ascertain a given candidate's position on certain issues. The statement of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (the A. in the nation's name sets the so-called "Northern" Presbyterians off from the chaste U.S. of the "Southern" Presbyterians) is typical of such statements. It reads:

> Noting the focus of public attention on the religious faith of candidates in an election year, the 172nd General Assembly
>
> Considers it the duty of all citizens to examine a candidate's position on important issues of public policy, including those related to the separation of church and state; and
>
> Believes that it is an act of irresponsible citizenship to support or oppose a candidate solely because of his religious affiliation.

Obviously, this is a two-pronged approach and by placing emphasis upon one or the other of the prongs, the weight of the statement will shift. Thus, the American Lutheran Church in a statement received for study and discussion (but not for official adoption) went so far as to say that it was "unfair, unwise and unwarranted by their record of public service" to assume that members of any religious group would subvert American traditions. The Augustana Lutheran Church, in adopting a similarly open statement, chose to ignore a committee report that stated that there were "grounds for reasonable doubt whether a (Roman Catholic officeholder) would be free from institutional pressures."

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In general, however, whatever the emphasis in the mind of any individual or group, these statements attempt to stress positions on issues and to reject group voting. Besides the groups already cited, this kind of resolution was adopted by the American Baptist Convention (the so-called "Northern" Baptists) and other influential denominations. It is fair to say that one or the other of these two positions outlined above was taken by every major Protestant church in the country save one. That exception of course is the Southern Baptist Convention and it is a whopping big exception.

HERE IS the Southern Baptist statement: "We reaffirm our conviction that a man must be free to choose his own church and that his personal religious faith shall not be a test of his qualifications for public office. When a public official is inescapably bound by the dogma and the demands of his church, he cannot consistently separate himself from these. This is especially true when that church maintains a position in open conflict with our established and constituted American pattern of life specifically related to religious liberty, separation of church and state, the freedom of conscience in matters related to marriage and the family, the perpetuation of free public schools and the prohibition against the use of public monies for sectarian purposes."

According to press reports, this final version of the statement was toned down from its original draft. It nowhere mentions the Roman Catholic Church by name. Yet it is quite obvious that one church alone is meant and the total effect is clearly to oppose a Catholic candidate, no matter who he is.

This impression has been only too adequately confirmed since Senator Kennedy's nomination. If there is one major group in American Protestantism out to prevent a Catholic president, it is the Southern Baptist clergy.

Joined with the Southern Baptists are the churches and groups known as the "evangelical" or "sect" groups. The National Association of Evangelicals, these groups' counterpart of the National Council of Churches, passed a resolution opposing the election of any Roman Catholic as President of the United States. Individual churches of this bent have adopted similar statements.

To understand the attitudes of these groups, it is necessary to undertake a quick guided tour of U.S. Protestantism, at least in its main divisions. In general, there are two main groupings in American Protestantism. There are the churches which comprise what is known as "historic" or "mainstream" Protestantism—the Anglicans (Episcopalians), the Reformed groups (Presbyterians, Reformed), the Lutherans, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Congregationalists. These churches embrace the great mass of American Protestants and they are what most people think of when they mention "the Protestant churches." They largely belong to the National Council of Churches, they tend to be more liberal socially and, to a degree, theologically. Their doctrines of the church vary quite widely but there are many similarities in their institutional behavior. Their members, socially, are apt to be middle-class or upper middle-class.

Over against these are the groups which are more often referred to as "evangelical" rather than Protestant—Assemblies of God, Pentecostalists, Holiness groups, various Inland Missions, etc. These "sect" groups tend to be younger and smaller and vastly more individualistic. Their main emphasis is upon personal religious experience directly and strongly felt by the individual. They are more conservative socially where they have any such interest at all. They wouldn't be caught dead in the National Council of Churches which they regard as a hotbed of liberalism and socialism.

It is also a characteristic of sect groups to be aggressive. This is partly the sense of being called out of the community; a concomitant of the sense of personal salvation. It is partly the stress upon emotional experience rather than upon intellectual understanding.

In terms of American society, members of these sect groups tend to come from lower or lower middle class backgrounds with less of a vested interest in a society which they regard as rotten or with simple patriotism.

Sociologically, a sect usually grows up to be a church. The Southern Baptist Convention is the second largest Protestant group in this country and growing fast but it is questionable whether it is not the largest sect in the country rather than the second largest Protestant church. Emotionally, it has very strong ties in that direction.

Now these are all generalizations and as rash as any of their kind. My only defense is that they are meant to be descriptive rather than pejorative and that they do offer something of a clue to the psychological matrix of much of the anti-Catholic sentiment among these groups. Members of these groups are, to a certain degree, outsiders "psychologically" with a simple faith that they are right.

Let me say, too, that the Southern Baptists insofar as they are still "Southern" despite their remarkable expansion exemplify the tension that many devout Southern Protestants have. They feel beleaguered—integration, mechanization, urbanization are destroying the world they knew and, since it was an intensely Protestant world, it is quite easy to tie anti-Catholicism in with their bewilderment and fear. It should be said on their behalf that they are losing something that had many values and it remains questionable whether the future will be an improvement in all respects.

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THE SECOND group of Protestants who have been quite vocal in at least raising questions about a Catholic candidate are far more sophisticated. They come from the "historic" Protestant churches and from the more liberal of those. They are themselves known frequently as "liberals." Their objections are what we might call the "issues." Their approach is to say that they cannot vote for a Roman Catholic until they receive guarantees on certain specified issues. (Obviously, there is overlapping between groups. Everyone who opposes a Catholic candidate raises these same issues but I think in different ways and for different reasons.)

This list of issues is by now quite familiar—birth control, aid to parochial schools, ambassador to the Vatican, separation of church and state, etc. Clearly, these are problems and important ones. What is perhaps questionable is to tie them all in a knot and insist upon a guaranteed solution from the Roman Catholic Church as a prerequisite to voting for a presidential candidate. This approach fails to discriminate between issues and smacks of an attempt to bargain rather than to reason things out in a pluralistic society.

It seems to me that this approach shows up the dangers of a pluralistic society. In America, there is no established or favored religion. The result is that every religious group feels like a minority and worries about being picked on. Catholics certainly feel this—they think of past injustices and those sixty million (or whatever number) Protestants and they get angry and defensive. Protestants also feel like a minority—they tend to think of two million Episcopalians or ten million Methodists against thirty million (or whatever) stalwart, disciplined Catholics under strict orders from the top. They get terrified. The Jews obviously feel even more threatened and surrounded.

Politically and socially, the result is the power struggle which is more correctly the status struggle. Status being hard to measure, every group tends to overplay its hand. But there is one status symbol that is clear—the Presidency of the United States.

I do not mean to imply that this thinking is conscious on the part of the "issue" opponents of a Catholic candidate. But it seems to me that there is an implication of a trade to be made—support for a Catholic candidate in return for a settlement of some of these problems of pluralism. Unfortunately, things aren't that easy.

None of this should imply that there are not some of these issues that relate directly to the Presidency and on which a candidate has a duty to speak. It is only when everything from paying taxes on Christian Brothers brandy to an *ex cathedra* pronouncement on religious liberty are lumped together as issues of a campaign that one begins to wonder.

A word should be said here about P.O.A.U. (Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State). This organization gets its most respectable support from this second group of people—the issue raisers. If Catholics wonder how some of them can accept its simplified propaganda approach to church-state issues, it might be pointed out that its solid support comes from its handling of court cases in specific problems that arise in communities. This does not mean that it does not try to appeal to various types of anti-Catholic sentiment except the most obviously irrational. It may also be queried whether any such organization does not in time acquire a vested interest in problems and an inflexible "line" (what P.O.A.U. likes to now call the "P.O.A.U.-Supreme Court" line) in approaching problems.

Of this second group it can be said that they do not approach the problems inherent in a pluralistic society in a sufficiently subtle and deep fashion. The problems, however, are real.

There is a third group of opponents of a Catholic president and one wonders whether the question would arise with such intensity for them were not the present candidate a liberal Democrat. It is very easy to jump to harsh conclusions here and one must, as Dr. Peale has put it, "take care to be fair." These persons are Protestants who tend to confuse their religion with their socio-economic-political point of view. We all tend to do this and, by the kinder interpretation, their vice is not malice but myopia. After all, before the Reverend Doctors Poling and Peale opened up on the Catholics, they had been giving the more liberal Protestants this same kind of treatment for years. If the candidate of Catholic faith had been some one more like the late Senators MacCarran or McCarthy, the objections might not have seemed so important to these gentlemen.

THESE ARE three main strands of opposition to a Catholic President by some Protestants. There are doubtless others, and there are unquestionably combinations and permutations of the groups. (I have not tried to examine the large numbers of Protestants who do not share this automatic rejection of a candidate of any group.) It is too early to have any idea how widespread this opposition may be, and it may never be possible to tell.

What is crucially important beyond this election is how well we in this nation understand each other. We tend to talk blithely of a pluralistic society as if it were a new toy. It is an extremely complicated business and demands perceptions and adjustments from all of us that we have not even thought of as yet. Unless we learn to use experiences like the "religious issue" in this campaign, instead of merely becoming excited and emotional, we shall all be in trouble before too long.

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He seeks the redistribution of land by non-violent means

Walking with Vinoba

by BEDE GRIFFITHS

IT IS NOW nearly ten years since Vinoba Bhave started his walking journey. He began by walking into the State of Hyderabad, where the Communists were trying to gain control by force of arms. There he initiated his campaign of *Bhudan,* "the gift of land," by which he has been trying to win the landlords to give up some of their land to the landless, and so achieve by non-violence that redistribution of land which the Communists seek to achieve by violence. In the course of these years he has walked from village to village all over India and has collected more than 5,000,000 acres of land, but his achievement is not so much in the land he has collected as in the new spirit which he has awakened in the country.

Vinoba is the spiritual son of Mahatma Gandhi. Like Gandhi after Independence, he has stood aside from politics and concentrated on the great work of *sarvodaya.* Sarvodaya, meaning literally "service of all," is the name given by Gandhi to the movement which he began towards a new life in the villages of India. Vinoba, like Gandhi, has identified himself with the poor in the villages of India and his reason for walking from village to village is at once to help him to get to know the villagers personally and to place himself on a level with them. The organization which he has created is rudimentary, as he does not believe in organization, and the distribution of land has not gone very far, but there can be no doubt that he has awakened a new spirit of enterprise and cooperation.

What then is the basis of this new spirit he has aroused? I think that one can best understand it by reading a passage which Gandhi wrote in the periodical which he called *Harijan* many years ago. *(Harijan* means literally "children of God" and is the name which Gandhi gave to the untouchables in India, a name which has stuck to them ever since.) In this he wrote: "Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his activities, social, political, religious, have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. The immediate service of all human beings *(sarvodaya)* becomes a necessary part of the endeavor, simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and to be one with it. This can only be done by the service of all *(sarvodaya).* I am a part and parcel of the whole and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbors. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate myself on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I could find Him in a Himalayan cave I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from humanity."

This passage is very characteristic. One notices in the first place how it is entirely in line with ancient Hindu tradition. For every Hindu the aim of life is *moksha,* that is "release" or "realization" of God, by which is meant an experiential knowledge of God as the one absolute reality. But what is profoundly significant is that this ultimate goal of life which was once sought in the solitude of a Himalayan cave, is now sought in the "service of all humanity." This is a mark of the change which has come over modern India. One can hardly doubt that this is due to the influence of Christianity. It is well known that Mahatma Gandhi himself was deeply influenced by the Gospel, not only directly through the New Testament but still more indirectly through Ruskin and Tolstoy. Thus the social gospel of Christianity has come to be accepted in modern India and has been incorporated, one may say, into Hinduism.

BUT IN THE process this social Gospel has undergone a most significant transformation. As is well known, the principle upon which Gandhi based his life and work was that of *ahimsa* or non-violence. Now this principle is deeply imbedded in Indian tradition, not merely Hindu, but also Buddhist and, still more, Jain. It is held, in fact, that Gandhi owed his original grasp of this principle to the influence of Jainism on his childhood.

Where he showed his extraordinary genius was in his application of the principle of non-violence to social and political life. He applied it first in South Africa to obtain freedom for his people from the color-bar, and then in his own country to obtain the political independence of India. In both cases, in spite of opposition which would have seemed overwhelming to anyone

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else, he met with final success. This has given the principle of *ahimsa* and the organized passive resistance to injustice which he called *satyagraha* an immense prestige in India. But in Gandhi's hands this principle developed into something far more significant than a method of passive resistance to evil. It became a positive "soul-force," which he called the "power of truth" and the "power of love," and as such comes very near to what a Christian understands by charity.

THUS IN an extraordinary way the principles of the Gospel have penetrated into India and become fused with Hinduism. Indeed, one may go so far as to say that Gandhi has shown how the principles of the Sermon on the Mount can be applied to social and political life in a way which no one before him had done: he made the Beatitudes matters of practical concern in a way which few Christians have realized.

These are also the principles by which Vinoba lives and which he preaches in all the villages to which he goes. It can be seen from this that *sarvodaya* is essentially a religious movement. Indeed, one may say that Gandhi and Vinoba are engaged in preaching to ordinary people in the Indian villages the ideals of the Gospel which the Church regards as counsels of perfection. Yet there is no doubt that these principles awaken a deep response. They have already a deep basis in Hindu tradition which make them congenial to the ordinary Hindu but at the same time they are given a practical application to the needs of modern India which makes them revolutionary. Vinoba asks that those who possess land share it with those who do not, and he appeals directly to the principle that the earth belongs to the Lord and that no one has a right to possess more than he needs at the expense of his neighbor.

In other words, what he is seeking is not so much a Communist society as a cooperative society and in this he has the full support of the Indian government. At present it may perhaps be said that theories as to how the land should be held are fluid and that it has to be worked out by practical experiment. In any case, the guiding principle in all things is *ahimsa*. There is no compulsion in any form and it is always the villagers themselves in their assembly who decide how the land is to be farmed.

IN ALL THIS, it seems to me, one can see the outlines of a genuine Christian society coming into being. Between the extremes of individual ownership to be found in Capitalism and of collective ownership to be found in Communism, the Christian ideal is surely that of a cooperative society. Such a society allows a great deal of flexibility in methods of ownership, but it is firmly based on the principle of non-violence. It consists in the willing cooperation of free men, who spontaneously renounce their rights of ownership in order to work together for the common good. This was the ideal which was once realized in the early Church and, though practical considerations may make it difficult to realize in less privileged circumstances, it still remains a type of the Christian ideal.

It is for this reason that I think that *sarvodaya* deserves our full cooperation as Catholics. It offers us a way of putting the Gospel into practice in modern India, which may have great significance for the whole world. The Western world is firmly rooted in a tradition of possessiveness with its inevitable corollary of violence in defense of one's possessions. The only alternative offered to this is Communism with its concept of collective ownership, which means, in fact, complete state-control and a corresponding policy of violence to obtain its goal. India is one of the few places where one can see a faint hope of a new order of society, based on non-possessiveness and non-violence, a society which might be able to correspond with the Christian ideal.

The basis of this concept of society is, as has been shown, definitely religious, and represents a remarkable fusion of Hindu and Christian ideas. Here, however, lies the difficulty, if not the danger, for a Catholic. The Hindu has very little sense of religious differences. He regards all religions as essentially the same in their basic principles, as differing only in their external expression of these principles, whether in dogma or in ritual. For him there is no difficulty about cooperating with people of different religions.

Gandhi, as is well known, introduced the custom of holding services in which there would be readings alike from the New Testament, the Koran, and the Bhagavadgita, and in which prayers and hymns would be addressed alike to Christ and to Krishna and the other Hindu gods. A Hindu sees nothing inconsistent in this. For him Christ is simply one of the many manifestations or "incarnations" of God in human history. He is quite willing to add also the Buddha and even Mohamet. It is not easy for him to understand the objections of a Christian to this view, and he is inclined to put it down to "intolerance."

THIS CAUSES the real difficulty for a Catholic in cooperating in *sarvodaya* and it was this problem that prompted my visit to Vinoba. I am interested in starting a *sarvodaya* ashram which will be run by Benedictine Oblates and will cooperate with the *sarvodaya* movement on a definitely Catholic basis. I thought that it was therefore necessary to get an assurance from Vinoba that we would not be required to compromise our faith in any way. For this I had to go to the far north of India, to a village near Agra where I found Vinoba encamped. The routine of his walks is now well established. He himself settles usually in the

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village school, which is put at his disposal and it was there that I found him.

In the evening he gives a talk to the people who have assembled from all the surrounding villages. On this occasion there must have been about five hundred people present, of whom about one hundred were walking in Vinoba's train. He himself looked surprisingly well and strong, considering that he is sixty-three and has been walking in all weathers in India now for ten years. He wears the ordinary loin cloth round his waist with a shawl to cover the upper part of his body and sandals on his feet. When I saw him he was wearing a rather strange, American-looking green cap, which gave a touch of piquancy to his rather austere features with their white goat-like beard. This is, however, characteristic, for he is ready to use modern conveniences when they really serve a useful purpose.

I found at first that he was very much inclined to hold that we should not concern ourselves with our differences in faith, but should unite together in those common principles of "spirituality," which belong to almost all religions. Indeed, I was told that he has recently gone even further than this and has maintained that the different religions (or dharmas, as he calls them) should be decently "buried" and that only their spiritual principles should be retained.

Against this point of view I maintained that there are real and essential differences in each religious tradition which affect their whole view of life and that we ought to respect these differences. It is not so much a matter of setting one religion against another, Christian against Hindu, as of recognizing that each religion has its own profoundly different point of view and that these should alike be respected. His objection to this was that religion then became a principle of division among them, which is exactly what we want to avoid.

I admitted that this was so to a certain extent, but I suggested that these differences are not necessarily final. We have to recognize that ultimately there can be only one religion for mankind, but we cannot reach this one religion by ignoring the essential differences which exist. What we have to do is to strive to understand these differences and through mutual understanding to work towards a reconciliation.

THE TIME has now come, I suggested, when the different religious traditions, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian, Moslem, etc., which have grown up separately with little contact with one another, have to meet in a "dialogue." The object of the dialogue should be not so much to convert as to understand one another and to penetrate more deeply into the ultimate principles of each religion. In other words, what we want is an "ecumenical" movement corresponding to that which is already taking place among Christians, by which we may hope gradually to arrive at mutual understanding and ultimately we may hope at world unity.

Finding that this point of view was quite acceptable to Vinoba, as I think it would be to any Hindu, I went on to insist that a Christian is bound to hold to certain principles which he regards as essential to his religion. I mentioned the doctrine of the Trinity, the unique historical incarnation in Christ, above all Christ as the one Savior of all mankind. But I insisted at the same time that this does not mean that a Christian must not respect other religious tradition and to strive to reconcile it with the truth of his own religion.

Eventually I think I can say that Vinoba fully accepted this point of view and agreed that a Christian should not be expected to join in common prayer with Hindus when it is against his conscience. Ultimately what is at stake is that no one who works in the *sarvodaya* movement should be asked to compromise his religious faith in any way.

We can work together in the service of God and humanity, but we can only do this effectively if we hold fast to our own religious conviction, while treating the convictions of others with an equal respect. This is surely a principle which holds for all multi-religious countries, and that is to say generally for the modern world. With this view Vinoba seemed fully to agree and I came away well satisfied that *sarvodaya* is in truth open to our full cooperation.

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Distinguished publishing company in the New York area is seeking experienced editorial personnel for their Catholic textbook department.

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THE SCREEN

KINDLY KILLER

WAR films can no longer be just about fighting or the dangers of the cruel sea or about monotony in the trenches; they have to have an angle that exposes their starry casts to something more than combat duty. Several new releases, with widely scattered locales, illustrate well how producers strain to give their war movies an extra fillip. "Under Ten Flags" exhibits some lively sea battles from the early days of World War II, but it is more concerned with the battle of wits between the German commander of the *Atlantis,* who disguises his surface raider as a merchantman, and the British admiral whose difficult job is to rid the seas of this mystifying foe. Under Duilio Coletti's good direction, these lead roles are exceedingly well handled by Van Heflin, whose underplaying as the wily German is quite convincing, and by Charles Laughton, whose overacting as the English officer is done with enough sincerity to make an interesting contrast.

Unfortunately it is hard to tell if director Coletti did as well with his other actors. The film is so strangely cut and edited that not one of the other characters (mostly survivors picked up by Van Heflin who insists on rescuing passengers and crews when he sinks a ship) comes through very well. "Under Ten Flags" becomes cluttered with people whose stories are only half told. Not having read Admiral Bernhard Rogge's autobiographical book (on which the film was based), I don't know if the minor characters are his or the scriptwriters. Still, if "Under Ten Flags" is not a great picture, it's never dull.

HALL BARTLETT, who is best remembered by moviegoers for his sincere and unpretentious films with "Crazylegs" Hirsch and for the moving semi-documentary called "Navajo," had a good idea when he started his new film. But then Mr. Bartlett, who must be held responsible since he produced, directed and wrote "All the Young Men," seems to have lost control or to have come under the influence of the Hollywood hucksters.

Sidney Poitier is a Negro sergeant in charge of a marine detachment during the Korea of 1951. At first this noble but somewhat inexperienced sergeant has to fight not only the enemy and the perilous snow-covered Korean terrain but also his own men, most of whom doubt a Negro's capacity for leadership. Before the finale, the indomitable sergeant proves himself as commander, fighter and, when one of the men has to have his leg amputated, even blood donor. Among the "young" men in Poitier's command are Alan Ladd as an ex-sergeant who resents not being boss, Paul Richards as a "nigger"-hating Southerner, James-Darren as a likable lad who carries a phonograph around with him, Glenn Corbett as the handsome medical corpsman, Mort Sahl as the platoon cynic whose wisecracks are amusing but more appropriate to a nightclub, and several players who complete the typical cross section—including a muscular Swede played by Ingemar Johansson. The film's action has several tough battle scenes, but war is really only a background for the racial theme that is, unfortunately, handled only in terms of clichés.

THE MAKERS of "The Angel Wore Red" also missed a great opportunity. The saddest of all wars are civil wars, and the holocaust and confusion that overran Spain in 1936 could well be the subject of a stirring film. But "The Angel Wore Red," directed by Nunnally Johnson who also wrote the script from Bruce Marshall's *The Fair Bride,* is so confused that the viewer can't tell which side is which.

Moreover, "The Angel Wore Red," which is mainly concerned with a romance between a renegade priest (Dick Bogarde) and a prostitute with a heart of gold (Ava Gardner), never could make up its mind what audience, if any, it was trying to reach. The film has some extremely grim scenes of slaughter and destruction, some thoughtful scenes involving the priest who feels that the Church in Spain has failed both God and man, some very silly scenes involving the prostitute who can't realize her love for the priest is a lost cause, and many wasted scenes involving Joseph Cotten as a newscaster and Vittorio De Sica as a Loyalist general.

Outstanding in the cast of this international film is Aldo Fabrizi as the stronghearted priest who saves a holy relic before the Loyalists sack the cathedral, a relic important to the story. Unfortunately he was unable to save this picture.

WAR TO the bitter end is often the theme of Disney's nature films; "Jungle Cat," photographed in one of the steaming and impenetrable jungles along the Amazon, is no exception. Its main characters are jaguars, whose male and female fight each other until they start courting. Then they care for their young, teach them how to swim and fend for themselves and to battle their most formidable foe, the crocodile. The mated jaguars are likely to hunt as a team, and they work pretty cleverly together—as is evident from the shots of them polishing off a vicious wild pig. "Jungle Cat" abounds in death scenes which oldsters may find more grueling than young fry. But for a change of pace some of the animals, like the harmless and vegetable-eating tapir and the sleepy tree sloth, help to inject a touch of humor into the film.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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BOOKS

Conventions of Social Comedy

A NUMBER OF THINGS. By Honor Tracy. Random House. $3.95.

By WILLIAM ESTY

AH, THE novelists of social comedy! They are always with us. And if they are British lady novelists, how amused and amusing are their works, how literate, how tolerant, how smiling, how sane, how charming—God have mercy! Still, one must remember Jane Austen and Ivy Compton-Burnett, and not yield to male chauvinism.

The dust jacket blurb for Honor Tracy's *A Number of Things* is ominous: "This time her helpless hero is Henry Lamb, a blithe but proper young Englishman. His first novel, an overwhelming success due to slight misinterpretation, enables him to escape from the toils of the horticultural business, and as the critics vie with each other to unearth still deeper levels of significance in his work, Henry is appointed roving correspondent of the Carribbean for a lit'ry magazine, and sets sail for Trinidad. Chaos ensues."

What ensues, rather, is what willy-nilly must, according to the by-now iron conventions governing British "funny" fiction about Abroad. All foreigners are funny, but also (British sense of fair play) all Britons are funny. I funny, you funny, he, she, it funny, we funny. . . . Actually, Miss Tracy is Irish, but the literary ancestry of *A Number of Things* is as purebred English as Bovril.

Incidentally, according to these conventions, there will be a boorish American who says, "Tact is my Thing." There will be a funny "progressive" literary editor who "wanted the era of colonial exploitation 'finalized' and to be replaced by one of 'fruitful togetherness.' " There will be a do-gooding Miss Wendy Perowne who will pester the sensible hero to give a talk on "Character Drawing in the later Henry James" to a Trinidad convent "I rather take under my wing." There will be a Miss Candida Firebrace, a native religious calypso singer, who wants to mingle with "top people" and who keeps averring, "to behold Minneapolis is one of my dreams. I hunger and thirst for it above all else save righteousness."

The Trinidadians will of course all display an amusing truculence and self-righteousness toward the white man, their former oppressor. They will say things like "Ain't you want me to be my goddam self?", will speak with defiant obscenity and will have names like Orlando Figgis. (Figgis is a straight, if inferior, derivative from the Shakespeare-quoting American Negro in *Decline and Fall*. But then, *A Number of Things* is warmed-over Waugh all through—mostly the Waugh of the African farces.)

There are bound to be the sure-fire little jokes about foreign showers that won't work properly, an orphanage where the girls distill rum, the English lady whose gardener decapitates her cook. There are the reliable running jokes about sex in the tropics and Christianity in the tropics. The Anglican priest tells the hero "Everything in these here islands, Henry, and don't quote me, results in a larger populace. Elections, cricket matches, Empire Day, Eucharistic Congress, Birth Control Center. . . ." Miss Tracy really should share her royalties with Mr. Waugh, who did, after all, write *Black Mischief*.

The Big Joke is that "the mindless tropics"—Trinidad is a "monkey-house in which someone had inadvertently left a barrel of rum"—are so deliciously ludicrous when contrasted with the unflustered commonsense of hero Henry Lamb, who, for his plain straightforward English decency, naturally gets beaten up by the police and expelled to his sane household and the horticulture business.

The archness is relentless, the gags forced and effortful; Miss Tracy, unfortunately, just cannot

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let an opportunity pass. "Francis therefore went defiantly everywhere and mingled with artists, pugilists, writers, politicians, noblemen, jazz players and other undesirables. . . ."

Perhaps it is necessary, in order to write a really funny novel, to wish to do more than merely write a funny novel. Miss Tracy's celebrated *The Straight and Narrow Path* was more relaxed and readable, a sort of extended naughty Irish family joke. The trouble with it was that it never surprised or shocked—even the naughtiness had a reassuring, expected, familiar quality, the permitted naughtiness of a traditional jest told within a lovable, ah so lovable family circle. It had the fatty sentimentality of a Christmas reunion tale. When one thinks of genuinely *funny* British comic novels—early Huxley, early Waugh, Anthony Powell, *Lucky Jim, The Ginger Man*—one realizes that their authors had in common that they possessed a *viewpoint,* about which they were excited. They were disgusted, or angry, or mockingly cynical about the society in which they lived, and the viewpoint, even if the reader did not accept it flat-footedly, gave these novels the needed quality of shock, surprise, sting.

Perhaps to be merely amused is the greatest bore of all.

On Loneliness

THE LUCK OF GINGER COFFEY. By Brian Moore. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $4.

By NORA MAGID

LIKE GRAHAM GREENE in England and Bernard Malamud in America, Brian Moore, late of Ireland and now residing in Canada, writes primarily about loneliness. His people, on the threshold of middle age, bereft of family and of religion—the Church which starts as prop ends as punisher—make brief, inappropriate alliances, are sucked into older age groups, and tell themselves that they drink to enable themselves to see their trials more philosophically. Judith Hearne, the alcoholic old maid, ends up in an institution which pictures of a cruel dead aunt and the Sacred Heart render home. Diarmuid Devine, the schoolmaster, gulled by a licentious girl, is forced by a stroke that would have pleased Dante into queer theological bondage: he is tied, like Paolo to Francesca, to the person who has become his worst enemy. Sin and expiation and the ironies dispensed by fate are Mr. Moore's theme.

In *The Luck of Ginger Coffey,* his third book, a natural progression has taken place. For the first time, his solitary man has managed to leave Ireland and to marry, but the luck of the Irish continues bad. Ginger Coffey, bewitched by the prospect of the pot of gold at the rainbow's end, comes to Canada to seek the proverbial fortune. In bitter midwinter, he finds himself broke in a shabby Montreal duplex: "it was a place that people on their way up tried to improve, people on their way down to disguise: all in vain." As a New Canadian—a euphemism used across the border to buttress the traditional status of the immigrant—he dreams still of another world, where men of thirty-nine are "Elder Brothers, prized over any Greek stripling. In that world, a man no longer spent his life running uphill, his hope in his mouth, his shins kicked by people with no faith in him. In that world, all men had reached the top of the hill; there were no dull jobs, no humiliating interviews, no turn-downs; no man was saddled with grinning wives and ungrateful daughters."

His wife, realizing that he will never find his place, that he will always be fired for telling others how to run their business, leaves him for a younger, more successful man. His daughter tired of his lies and schemes and dreams gets mixed up with a beatnik. The only person on whose love he can briefly count is a small neglected child, lonelier than he. This is the landlady's son. (Moore people always live in bleak boarding-houses, and eviction is almost inevitable.) In occasional flashes of recognition, he

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sees himself as stupid, scared, and childish. Eventually, after an improbable circumstance, his wife takes him back. Shock has returned her to her senses and her responsibilities. The trouble now is that Ginger is no longer sure that he wants her.

Most of the book consists of an internal monologue and becomes somewhat repetitive. The strong originality and variety of form that distinguish *The Lonely Passion of Judith Hearne* have simmered into a more conventional format that smacks occasionally of soap opera. Ginger alternates between maudlin self-pity, resentment against Canada—"this bloody country, snow and ice, bloody hell on earth"—and rare moments of truth when he understands that he is a frightened fraud. His problems are familiar: the blood-sucking aloneness of the displaced man, the debilitating interviews that come to nothing because he is no longer twenty, and because he gets caught in a web of his own inefficient lies. He is told that if he does not like Canada he can go back where he came from. Like the previous Moore characters he turns first to and then against the Church. Kneeling he experiences a pang of anger. "I never could abide a bully," he says to the tabernacle. God wants him to herd with the other sheep, to give up. "If it's cowards you want in heaven, then good luck to you. You're welcome."

For adults, there is no out, no help. The schoolteacher must keep teaching in the institution where everyone knows him for a fool; the alcoholic spinster must keep on drinking in rented rooms; the cuckolded husband must take back the wife he doubts he loves, put up with the daughter who scorns him, plod on at the dead-end job that daily defeats him. This third book is in a sense the first to have what might pass for a happy ending. But the conventional happiness is barren and empty when Ginger gets what he thinks he wants. With his wife back, with a pay cheque in his pocket, he is, though briefly more resigned, more than ever alone, more than ever beaten.

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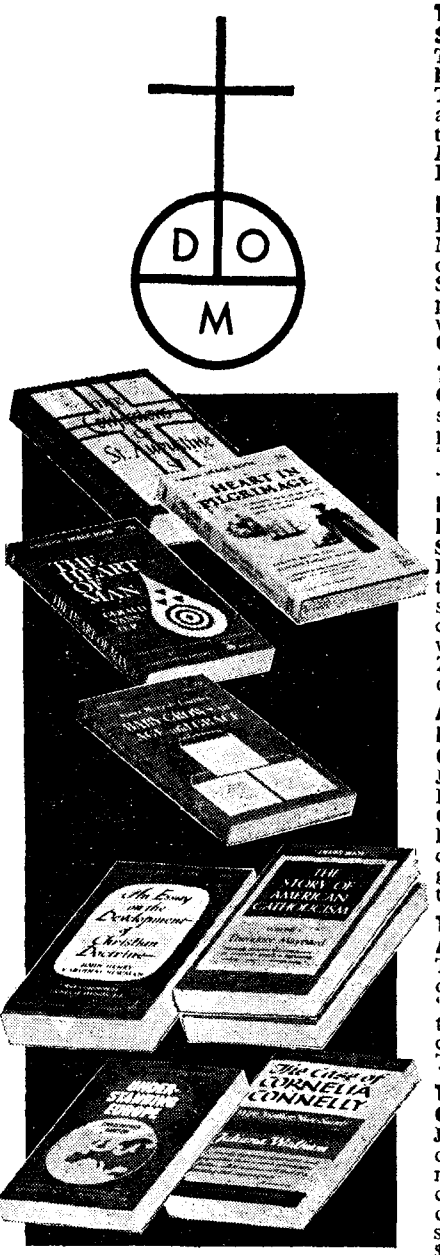

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JOHN CHRYSOSTOM AND HIS TIME. Volume I: Antioch. By Chrysostomus Baur, O.S.B. Newman. $6.75.

By PHILIP BURNHAM

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM has been one of the most universally admired saints of the whole Church ever since the year 438, when his body was brought back and enshrined in Constantinople, thirty-one years after his death in exile. With St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen he is one of the "Three Holy Hierarchs" of the Eastern ("Orthodox") Church; and these three, with St. Athanasius, are honored by the Western ("Catholic") Church as the "Four Greek Doctors." In addition, St. Pius X in 1909 declared Chrysostom patron of all preachers of the word of God.

This splendid biography by Father Chrysostomus Baur, O.S.B., is a big book in many ways, although it does not constitute a full rendering of Chrysostom's personality or sanctity. It is the first half of a new, perfected edition of the Life, already considered "definitive," which was published in 1929-30.

In Antioch St. John became the greatest preacher in the world, but it was later, as Patriarch in Constantinople that the heroic commitment of the saint to Christianity and the Church was fully proved. Then, at the end, exiled in eastern Cappadocia, his life was crowned by a kind of martyrdom when he was hounded to death by imperial Christians who were ruthlessly driving for a different concept of the Society of Christianity, if not for different dogmas and ultimate Faith.

In Antioch, St. John's primary rôle was that of "pulpit orator." That is not generally a position which gains the respect and popularity which St. John Chrysostom has attained, especially with the intellectuals who seem particularly attracted to him. But the descriptions of his oratory and the considerable quotations from sermons which are included here show the unique character of the oratory. It is established that his Greek was superb, rivaling, even at that late and decaying era of Hellenic culture, the best in Greek literature. His address was direct and intimate, and always lively and moving. He was rarely abstract, and very seldom far from the most intense public and private concerns of his people. His approach and outlook were reinforced by the power of sacred scriptures all of which he had virtually memorized. He never departed from the ascetic and "poor life" which he had learned during a six-year apprenticeship as a monk in the wilderness. In the Church he never sought the limelight nor did he impose upon others; he honored his fellows, and he was loyal.

What has been written about St. John, as well as the sermons and writings of this saint, indicate the extraordinary bond between the preacher and the people. At the end of the Fourth Century, Antioch was a special suitable place for a great pulpit orator. The embracing, unified public life of pagan antiquity continued strong in the capital of the East, in the festivals, games and theaters which were far too strong for St. John. Christianity and the Church expressed themselves in unified, liturgical forms and practices which are an inspiration after centuries of extreme individualism.

Nevertheless, the author insists upon the little St. John's incomparable preaching did to change his people's habits and sanctify their city. Father Baur furnishes certain clues (beyond the general character of mankind) to explain the failure which Chrysostom lamented and historians must admit. One is the relatively incomplete, or unformed, canon law, theology, and even dogma of the saint, which is explained largely, no doubt, by his position in time and place and by his temperament. Then also, during his years in Antioch there were at once four bishops claiming jurisdiction, and the dominant one, whom St. John served and who held the allegiance of almost ninety per

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cent of the Catholics, was in schism with Rome.

Another consideration is brought to mind by the book: St. John Chrysostom was a moralist in extreme. There are expected limits to the effectiveness of persistent moralizing. ("He spoke in the famous Pillar Homilies of the year 387 at least twenty times, one after another, on frivolous cursing and swearing. . . . In ninety sermons of the Gospel of St. Matthew, Chrysostom spoke forty times on alms giving alone. . . .") His great fire and his great words were ever directed to the practical matter of obeying definite laws of God and specific precepts of charity. His caste of mind would doubtless now be called "existential."

The individual follow-up to St. John's broadcast moralizing may have been inadequate. Surely, the grim historical events through which he lived deflected many from sensitive moral awareness. But in addition, Father Baur indicates that while Antioch had public penance for public sinners, and St. John dwelt upon the forgiving love of God and the rich rewards of confessing one's sins as the Psalmist wrote, he did not have auricular Confession before the priest. The contrast him and the Curé d'Ars, another great moralist, is interesting, and so is the contrast between the great change described at Ars and the little that is claimed for Antioch.

St. John Chrysostom's great glory is that of a witness, carrying down in the West, and particularly in the East, the golden words and golden example of a great man of his age completely dedicated to Christianity. None of his rich talents was held back; no part of his life kept back from service to God and labor for every neighbor.

REVIEWERS

William Esty, a New York critic, is a frequent contributor to *The Commonweal* and other magazines

Nora Magid is a member of the staff of *The Reporter*.

Philip Burnham, a former editor of The Commonweal, continues to be a frequent contributor.

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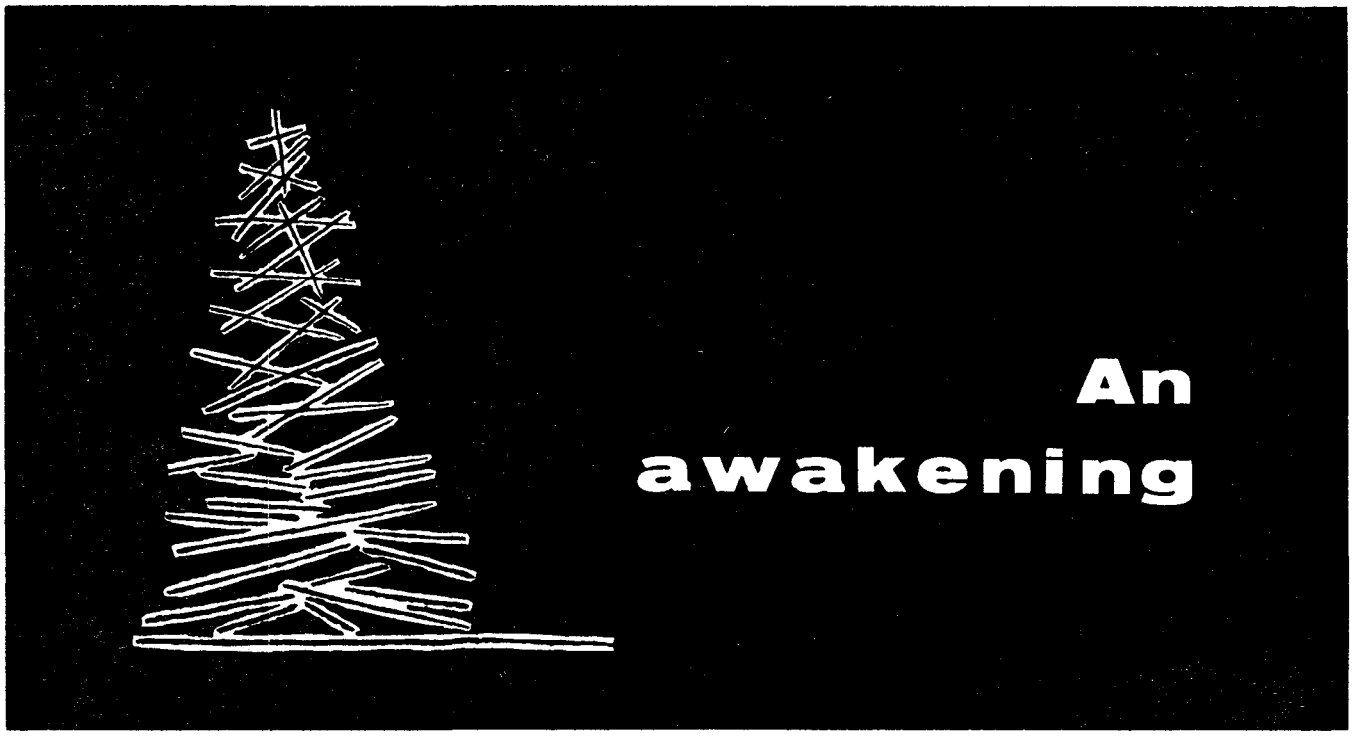

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